DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 173 503 UD 019 600

AUTHOR Hare, Bruce R.
TITLE Black Girls: A Comparative Analysis of Self-Perception and Achievement by Race, Sex and Socioeconomic Background. Report No. 271.
INSTITUTION Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. Center for Social Organization of Schools.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Jan 79
GRANT NIE-G-78-0210
NOTE 33p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Academic Achievement; *Black Students; Caucasian Students; Comparative Analysis; Elementary Secondary Education; *Females; Males; *Psychological Patterns; *Racial Differences; Self Esteem; *Sex Differences

ABSTRACT

This report focuses on the self-perception and academic achievement of fifth grade black girls as compared to black boys and white girls. Comparisons are made along different dimensions of self-esteem (general, school, peer, and home), and on self-concept of ability, achievement orientation, general anxiety, locus of control, importance of social abilities, and performance on standardized reading and math achievement tests. Findings indicate that black girls occupy a psychological and academic middle ground compared to the other groups. For example, white girls had higher reading and math test scores than black girls, but black girls had higher test scores than black boys. Black girls also had higher achievement orientation scores and a trend toward higher school self-esteem than black boys. Black boys scored higher on the non-academic dimensions of importance of social abilities and peer self-esteem. In addition, black girls were shown to share some sex-related characteristics with white girls, such as higher anxiety and greater independence than their male counterparts. It is concluded that the presence of sex differences among black children is in need of further study. (Author/EB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED173503

Black Girls: A Comparative Analysis of Self-Perception and Achievement by Race, Sex, and Socioeconomic Background

Grant No. NIE-G-78-0210

Bruce R. Hare

Report No. 271

January 1979

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

J. Hollifield
CSOS

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Published by the Center for Social Organization of Schools, supported in part as a research and development center by funds from the United States National Institute of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the National Institute of Education, and no official endorsement by the Institute should be inferred.

The Johns Hopkins University

Baltimore, Maryland

UD019600

Introductory Statement

The Center for Social Organization of Schools has two primary objectives: to develop a scientific knowledge of how schools affect their students, and to use this knowledge to develop better school practices and organization.

The Center works through four programs to achieve its objectives. The Policy Studies in School Desegregation program applies the basic theories of social organization of schools to study the internal conditions of desegregated schools, the feasibility of alternative desegregation policies, and the interrelation of school desegregation with other equity issues such as housing and job desegregation. The School Organization program is currently concerned with authority-control structures, task structures, reward systems, and peer group processes in schools. It has produced a large-scale study of the effects of open schools, has developed Student Team Learning Instructional processes for teaching various subjects in elementary and secondary schools, and has produced a computerized system for school-wide attendance monitoring. The School Process and Career Development program is studying transitions from high school to post secondary institutions and the role of schooling in the development of career plans and the actualization of labor market outcomes. The Studies in Delinquency and School Environments program is examining the interaction of school environments, school experiences, and individual characteristics in relation to in-school and later-life delinquency.

This report, prepared by the Policy Studies in School Desegregation program, focuses on the self-perception and academic achievement of fifth-grade Black girls as compared to Black boys and white girls. The examination of sex differences within race, and race differences within sex, provides more specific knowledge than has been generated by studies of Blacks in general and females in general.

Abstract

This paper compares the self-perception and academic achievement of a sample of ten- and eleven-year-old Black girls, with socioeconomic background (SES) controlled, to Black boys (sex differences within race) and white girls (race differences within sex). Also, it assesses socio-economic background variations within the Black female group, compares Black girls to white boys, and includes all other possible between-group comparisons.

Comparisons are made on general self-esteem, area-specific (school, peer, and home) self-esteem, self-concept of ability, achievement orientation, general anxiety, locus of control, importance of social abilities, and performance on standardized reading and math achievement tests.

The results indicate that Black girls occupy a psychological and academic middle ground compared to the other groups. For example, both the white girls and white boys had significantly higher reading and math test scores than the Black girls, but the Black girls had significantly higher performance on reading and math than the Black boys. Sex differences were also found to be more numerous among Black children (Black boys vs. Black girls) than among the white children (white girls vs. white boys), and were consistently to the academic advantage of Black girls. In addition to having higher test performance than the Black boys, Black girls also had higher achievement orientation scores and a trend toward higher school self-esteem than Black boys. Black boys scored higher on the non-academic dimensions of importance of social abilities and peer self-esteem (a trend). Black girls were shown to share some clearly sex-related characteristics with white girls, such

as higher anxiety and greater independence than their male counterparts of the same race. They also shared race-related characteristics with Black boys, such as lower sense of control and lower reading and math scores than the white children.

The results highlight the necessity to increase studies of Black girls in their own right, rather than assuming they can be assessed through either the study of females or Blacks in general. They further suggest the need to investigate the causes of sex differences among Black children, as they were more numerous than among white children and have serious implications for both school and future success.

Acknowledgments

Data gathering for this study was funded by a University of Illinois Research Board Grant during the 1976-77 academic year. This paper was written while on leave at Johns Hopkins. The author would like to thank the University of Illinois for making both data gathering and the leave possible.

The author would also like to thank Walter R. Allen, Edgar G. Epps and the members of the Hopkins center for valuable comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this paper.

Finally to the fifth grade children, staff, and administrators of the Champaign, Illinois school system, I express my gratitude for making the study possible.

This article presents a comparative picture of a seldom studied group, Black girls. It provides some initial descriptive information about these children in order to fill an information void that exists because Black girls have largely been subsumed in the general literature on Blacks and females. The attempt is to identify not only their shared characteristics with these two general membership groups, but their unique characteristics and variations among them as well. We are concerned with the academic achievement and self-perception of a sample of ten- and eleven-year-old girls as compared to (a) Black boys, with family socioeconomic background (SES) controlled, and (b) white girls, with family socioeconomic background controlled. In addition, we provide an internal comparison of Black girls by socioeconomic background.

Comparisons will be made on General Self-Esteem, Area-Specific (i.e. school, peer, and home) Self-Esteem, Self-Concept of Ability, Achievement Orientation, Anxiety, Independence, Locus of Control, Fatalism, Importance of Social Abilities, and performance on Standardized Reading and Math Achievement Tests.

Because of the sparcity of literature specifically directed to the study of Black girls, the paper will be presented within the context of what is known about sex, race, and social class differences in general.

The study raises four general questions for investigation.

I. Do Black girls and Black boys differ significantly in self-perception and achievement with socioeconomic background controlled?

II. Do Black girls and white girls differ significantly in self-perception and achievement with socioeconomic background controlled?

III. Do Black girls of varying socioeconomic background differ significantly in self-perception and achievement?

IV. Are there systematic variations in the ways in which the compared groups differ in self-perception and achievement?

Review of Relevant Literature

Sex Differences

Literature on sex differences among preadolescent Black boys and girls is scarce. As pointed out by Maccoby and Jacklin (1974), in a massive review of work on sex differences, most of the psychological work on sex differences has been done with white middle-class American children and adults. Their review reported no significant sex differences in general self-esteem, confidence in task performance, achievement orientation, locus of control, or verbal (reading) and math ability, although they report a tendency for girls to score higher in verbal abilities than boys. They further report that as boys move through adolescence, they tend to develop greater math ability, more confidence in task performance, and higher locus of control scores than girls. They also report boys to be more independent, to report more positive peer interaction, possess a higher self-concept of strength and potency, and have lower anxiety scores than girls. The authors also reported no significant sex differences in intellectual ability.

It is important to emphasize that these reported findings are largely based on comparisons among white middle-class children. There are little comparative sex data on area-specific (school, peer, and home) self-esteem. However (Hare, 1975), with a pooled sample of Black and white children of varying SES backgrounds, reported no

significant sex differences on these dimensions when race and SES were controlled.

Although we would generally expect similar sex differences among Black boys and girls, we are concerned that patterns of sex differences may vary across racial groups, perhaps as a function of cultural variations in sex role socialization. Some researchers have hypothesized fewer sex differences among Black children, arguing an egalitarian character to Black culture. For example, as posited by Lewis (1975, 228), "The Black child, to be sure, distinguishes between male and female, but unlike the white child he is not inculcated with standards which polarize expectations according to sex...Many of the behaviors which whites see as appropriate to one sex or the other, Blacks view as equally appropriate to both sexes, or equally inappropriate to both sexes..."

Race Differences

Most studies of race differences have involved either comparisons of white and Black boys, or of white and Black children which failed to take sex differences into account. Thus the discussion of race differences between Black and white girls must be based on what is known about race differences in general. The assumption that females could be assessed by the measurement of males, and Blacks by the measurement of whites, has inhibited cross-race female comparisons.

On the issue of general self-esteem there is a strong tradition represented by the works of Clark and Clark (1947), Grier and Cobb (1968), and Kardiner and Ovesey (1951), among others, which report lower general self-esteem in Black children than white children. The theoretical premise of this school of thought was succinctly stated by

Kardiner and Ovesey (1951, 297): "The basic fact is that in the Negro aspiration level, good conscience and even good performance are irrelevant in face of the glaring fact that the Negro gets a poor reflection of himself in the behavior of whites, no matter what he does or what his merits are." The foundation of this assumption is that as a people in a predominately white culture, Blacks are incapable of rejecting the negative images of themselves that are forwarded by whites. This tradition depended upon interpretive analyses of the reasons why Black children chose white dolls over Black dolls (Clark and Clark, 1947), and use of psychiatric patients as a basis for generalizations about the Black population at large (Grier and Cobb, 1968). The research frequently ignored the impact of socioeconomic background on self-esteem. Because studies often compared lower SES Blacks and middle SES whites and attributed all differences to race, the question of spurious associations makes their results questionable.

In contrast, more recent studies of self-esteem with larger, more representative samples and SES controls have ranged from finding no significant difference (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1971; McDill, Meyer and Rigsby, 1966; Hare, 1978) to finding Blacks scoring higher (Hunt and Hart, 1969; Kohn, 1969; Powell and Fuller, 1970). There has been little cross-race research on area-specific (school, peer, and home) self-esteem. Coopersmith's (1967) major work in this area used a restricted sample of white, male, middle class children. However, later research by Hare (1975) reported a significant race difference in school self-esteem.

Hare (1978) also reported Blacks to have higher self-concept of ability than whites, lower achievement orientation, lower locus of

control, higher concern with social abilities, and lower scores on standardized reading and math tests. Again, these findings are from a study of both sexes combined without paying special attention to comparisons of female children.

Socioeconomic Background Differences

As studies of sex differences, studies of social class differences have focused mainly on white children. The assumption of a monolithic Black community has perhaps discouraged studies of social class differences among Blacks (Blackwell, 1975). In this study, we will be concerned specifically with the presence or absence of difference among Black girls across SES background. Two previous studies (Hare, 1975 and 1978), using blue collar and white collar children of both sexes, reported significant SES differences with race controlled on general self-esteem, and results indicating that home, school, and peer self-esteem also varies by SES. In those studies both general and school self-esteem varied significantly by social class, with upper SES children scoring higher. Home and peer self-esteem rose significantly with SES in one study and showed a trend in the same direction in the other. There were also significant SES differences in self-concept of ability, achievement orientation, locus of control, and on performance in standardized reading and math achievement tests, consistent with the findings of Coleman (1966) and Brookover, LePere, Hammacher, and Erickson (1965). The higher the SES, the higher the score on the measures, with the exception of social abilities ratings in which the lower SES group showed higher ratings.

Methods and Procedures

Measures

To test the self-esteem hypotheses, a thirty-item general self-esteem scale was used. The scale combined ideas from the Rosenberg (1965) and Coopersmith (1967) scales to create a measure that is sensitive and both general and area-specific. There were two reasons for creating a new measure: (a) an inability to assess area-specific (i.e., school, home, and peer) self-esteem from the Rosenberg general measure, and (b) concern that the failure of the Coopersmith measure to detect differences in self-evaluation by children across different areas of experience reflected both a lack of sensitivity in the items and the failure of the measure to emphasize the specific context from which the respondent is to answer the question. School, peer, and home self-esteem are the three ten-item subscales of this general measure (Hare, 1975), and a seven-item general self-esteem measure composed by Rosenberg (1965) was also included. Self-concept of ability was assessed by five of Brookover's (1965) items, and general anxiety by Sarason's (1964) scale. Academic achievement was measured by performance on the math and reading sections of a standardized test administered district wide in the fall of 1976. Sense of control was measured by Coleman's (1966) three-item internal versus external control measure. Higher scores on this measure indicate a greater belief in internal control. Finally, achievement orientation was measured by Epps' (1975) thirteen-item scale, and social abilities by a scale developed by Hare (1975).

By way of example, general self-esteem was measured by the respondent strongly agreeing, agreeing, disagreeing or strongly

disagreeing with such statements as "I feel I am a person of worth," and "I feel I do not have much to be proud of." School, peer and home self-esteem were measured by response to such statements as, "My teachers expect too much of me," "I often feel worthless in school," "Other people wish they were like me," "I have at least as many friends as other people my age," "My parents are proud of the kind of person I am," and "I often feel unwanted at home." Self-concept of ability was measured by responses to such items as "How do you rate yourself in school ability compared to those in your class at school?" and "Do you think you have the ability to go to college?" Anxiety was measured by such items as "Do you worry about being promoted to the next grade at the end of the year?" and "Do you think you worry more about school than other children?" Sense of control was measured by response to such items as, "Good luck is more important than hard work for success," and "People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life." Achievement orientation was measured by agreement or disagreement with such items as "It's mostly luck if one succeeds or fails," and "Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving away from your parents." Finally, concern with social abilities was measured by rating the importance of such abilities as being good at sports and games, popular, pretty or handsome.

Socioeconomic divisions were developed from the Blau and Duncan (1967) index of occupational status. The index was divided into thirds to categorize the occupation of the head of household. Thus students from families falling below index values of thirty-four were categorized as lower class; those between thirty-four and sixty-four were categorized as middle class; and those above sixty-four as upper-middle class. The

first division approximates the point of separation of manual from non-manual labor, and the second division approximates the point two-thirds of the way up the index.

Sample

This study was conducted in the Champaign, Illinois school system in the spring of 1976. The city's population is approximately fifty-thousand persons. Twenty-three percent of the school district's children are Black. The system was desegregated in 1967 primarily through busing Black children under a plan requiring each school building to be within fifteen percent of the district's minority percentage as well as within guidelines for desegregated classrooms. The complete sample of over five hundred subjects included all fifth graders in the district who consented to participate with parental approval and who were in school on the days of the survey. We were able to obtain questionnaires from over ninety percent of the total fifth grade population. To control for age, the sample was limited to fifth graders (10-11 years old). The decision to choose fifth grade students was based on a desire to select a population old enough to comprehend the measures but still preadolescent and, theoretically, not likely to experience the fluctuations in their levels of self-esteem that may accompany changes in body image in adolescence. The literature supports the belief that, both in stability and ability, children at this age are an ideal sample for this kind of study (Simmons, Rosenberg and Rosenberg, 1973).

Statistical Methods

In order to investigate the questions, a series of separate two by three (white vs. black or male vs. female by blue collar, lower white

collar, upper white collar) analyses of variance were used to control for SES when looking at race or sex, as well as to test the significance of their interaction effects. The decision to present separate ANOVA's for each of the compared groups was used, after finding that an overall race by sex by SES ANOVA tended to surpress some differences that were shown to exist when the subpopulations were compared separately. Because this is an exploratory study, intended to identify possible areas of difference between the groups for future in-depth analysis, this approach proved more appropriate. It should also be noted that the test reported here for each main factor effect (race and SES) is exactly equivalent to the test for the unique proportion of the variance accounted for by each factor in a hierarchical multiple regression analysis. As such, it is a conservative test of the importance of race or SES, because the variance accounted for jointly by both factors is removed before assessing the significance of the individual factors.

Results

Sex Differences Between Black Boys and Girls

Black boys and girls in our sample differed on a variety of important dimensions (see tables 1 and 2). Our results are consistent with the literature on whites in reporting no significant sex differences for Blacks in general self-esteem, locus of control, or fatalism. The results are also consistent with the literature on whites in reporting Black girls scoring higher than boys in anxiety (means 34.55 and 32.82, respectively) and reading achievement (means 34.31 and 25.90, respectively), and in showing Black boys to trend toward higher peer self-esteem and social abilities ratings.

However, some of our results differ significantly from the literature

---
Tables 1 and 2 About Here
---

on white children. Black girls score significantly higher than their male counterparts in math ability (means 31.96 and 24.48, respectively), achievement orientation (means 34.55 and 32.82, respectively), and displayed a trend toward higher school self-esteem. (A separate comparison of white boys and girls showed them not to differ significantly on these dimensions.) Finally, there were no significant differences between Black boys and girls in home self-esteem, self-concept of ability, or sense of control.

In short, our data do suggest some very important sex differences between Black boys and girls, particularly with regard to the school related dimension of achievement and achievement orientation, on which the girls hold a clear advantage. The only dimensions on which the boys score higher, though not by much, are the non-school dimensions of concern with social abilities and peer self-esteem.

Race Differences Between Black and White Girls

Consistent with more recent studies of race differences in general self-esteem and area-specific (school, peer, home) self-esteem, the results indicate no significant differences on these measures between the Black and white girls with SES controlled, nor did the two groups differ on independence, anxiety, or social abilities. Nevertheless, as previous studies of race differences have reported, the white girls score significantly higher than the Black girls on sense of control (means 9.65 and 8.76, respectively), achievement orientation (means 38.19 and

34.55, respectively), and performance on standardized reading (means 52.20 and 34.31, respectively) and math tests (means 46.43 and 31.96, respectively), while the Black girls were both more fatalistic and scored higher on self-concept of ability.

Socioeconomic Background (SES) Differences Among Black Girls

Because our sample of Black girls consisted of fifty-five lower SES but only twelve middle and upper SES subjects, this analysis of SES differences should be interpreted cautiously. The data indicated no significant SES differences on any of the general or area-specific dimensions of self-esteem. In fact, the only dimension on which there was a significant difference was on the achievement orientation scale. The higher the SES, the higher the achievement orientation score. Black girls of varying SES background did not differ on self-concept of ability, anxiety, social abilities, or math performance. However, three trends were just short of significant: sense of control, independence, and performance on the standardized reading test all increase as SES increases. It is possible that with a larger sample these differences would have been statistically significant. On the other hand, it is also possible that SES background is a less powerful predictor of academic performance and self-attitudes than race and sex status among these Black girls. Overall, it appears that the sex status of Black girls puts them ahead of the Black boys, while their race status puts them behind both the white girls and white boys on reading, math, and an assortment of psychological dimensions.

Variations in Compared Group Similarities and Differences

Additional analyses were performed comparing Black girls to white boys with SES controlled, and comparing white boys to white girls with SES controlled. (For interested readers, Table 1 shows all other possible race and sex comparisons, with SES controlled.) When one combines these analyses with the analyses already discussed, an interesting picture emerges. On general self-esteem, as measured by Rosenberg's scale, white boys scored significantly higher than either white females or Black females, though not significantly higher than the Black boys (means 22.63, 21.69, 20.87, and 21.20, respectively). Thus it appears that being white and male has a positive implication for general self-esteem. On area-specific (school, peer and home) self-esteem, with the exception that white girls have a significantly higher school self-esteem than Black boys, there were no other significant differences among the groups. For self-concept of ability the pattern is consistent with past literature in demonstrating a clear race difference. Black children rate their ability higher than white children regardless of sex, though only the Black girls were significantly higher. On achievement orientation a pattern of Black girl over Black boy and white girl over Black girl emerges, as well as a significant SES difference within the Black female group (means 34.55, 32.32, and 38.19, respectively).

Consistent with the literature, anxiety varies by sex, but not SES or race, with girls scoring significantly higher than boys. The means were white boys, 10.38, Black boys, 11.84, white girls, 12.25, and Black girls, 14.54. Sense of control appears clearly race related--there were no significant sex differences within the race groups,

but white girls and boys score higher than the black girls. This finding is also consistent with the literature (Coleman, 1966). Black boys scored significantly higher than the other groups in rating the importance of social abilities such as being popular, and good at sports and games. The Black girls did not differ from the whites on this dimension. The means were Black boys 33.66, Black girls 31.43, white boys 31.06, white girls 30.85. It appears that Black boys only out score Black girls on non-academic dimensions. They also showed a trend, as did the white boys, toward a higher peer self-esteem than their female counterparts.

Finally, a clear pattern emerges on performance on standardized reading and math tests. Whereas Black girls score significantly higher than Black boys, white girls scored significantly higher than the Black girls, but did not differ from the white boys. The reading means were Black boys, 25.90, Black girls, 34.31, white boys, 51.40, and white girls, 52.20. The math means were Black boys, 24.48, Black girls, 31.96, white boys, 48.70 and white girls, 46.43. Thus, even with SES controlled, a performance hierarchy of white male and white female, Black female, and lastly Black male emerges. It is clear that there are systematic variations across these groups, with some differences appearing to be mainly racial, such as self-concept of ability and sense of control, and some mainly sexual, such as anxiety, independence, and possibly peer self-esteem.

Discussion

Because the primary concern of the study is Black girls, this discussion describes the implications of where they stand relative to

the other groups as well as the variation among them. Black girls appear to be in both a psychological and academic "middle ground" when compared to the other groups. They share, with Black boys, a lower sense of control, a lower achievement orientation, a higher self-concept of ability (Black girls had the highest self-concept of ability), and significantly lower reading and math scores compared to the whites. These racial differences are consistent with the literature and underscore the implication of racial status for Black children in general and Black girls in particular. The results suggest that they may not accept test evaluations as the true measure of their ability. Their lower sense of control (greater fatalism) is consistent with this possibility. They may be more likely than white children to have a discontinuity between their own ability ratings and the actual comparative performance feedback they receive in the school situation. The fact that they do not perform as well as the whites on the reading and math achievement tests, but still rate their ability higher than the whites, is consistent with recent work by Paton, Walberg and Yeh (1973) which reported that Black students more often than whites believe that they can learn, but that someone or something is blocking their progress.

Although this pattern might be applauded as evidence of the ability of Black children to protect their academic self-image in the face of relative failure, it must also be viewed as cause for alarm. If the motivation to achieve is in part generated by recognition of inadequacy, the absence of a sense of inadequacy may impair the drive to achieve, and thereby impair their chances for academic success. There is a need to further investigate the relationship among self-concept of ability,

sense of control, and actual achievement among these Black children, in order to enhance both their present achievement and sense of control, as well as to bring about a positive connection between their ability estimates and actual achievement. In short, although their lower sense of control may be realistic and ability estimates positive, it is important to emphasize that these Black girls are significantly behind their white counterparts on standardized reading and math test performance.

On the other hand, although the Black girls were significantly below the whites on the standardized tests and achievement orientation, they were significantly above the Black boys on the same measures. It should be noted that although "cultural bias" might be used as a partial explanation of these reported racial differences in achievement orientation and performance on standardized reading and math tests, it does not explain the sex differences within the Black group. The Black females also showed a trend, though not significant, toward higher school self-esteem than the Black boys. These results suggest that these Black girls are achieving better than the Black boys, may like school better, and may also be more motivated to achieve. Whether they like school better because they do better or vice versa is open to investigation.

The Black girls also had a significantly higher self-concept of ability than both the white girls and boys, while the Black boys did not. When this is combined with evidence that in addition to doing better on standardized tests, Black girls also get better grades than Black boys (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1971), the high self-concept of ability of Black girls may reflect self-evaluation as compared primarily to Black boys, and be both report card and achievement test realities. The Black boys

may, simultaneously, have high self-concept of ability, because it is less based on academic performance.

As mentioned earlier, the only dimensions on which the boys outscored the girls are on the non-school related dimensions of peer self-esteem and concern with social abilities. It is again important to note that white boys and girls did not differ significantly on any of these dimensions.

In short, sex differences were significantly more numerous within the Black group and were consistently to the academic advantage of the girls. We can only speculate as to the meaning of these findings. It may be that Black parents do a better job of encouraging achievement in girls. It also may be that the female dominant environment of the elementary school is perceived as less alien by Black girls. It may be that teacher expectancies and/or treatment of Black girls differs from that of Black boys. In any case, the absence of achievement differences by sex among whites, but the presence of sex differences among Black children is in serious need of further study.

When we look at sex differences without regard to race, the Black and white girls shared higher anxiety and greater independence than their male counterparts. There were no race differences on these dimensions. Girls were more likely to strongly disagree with such statements as "nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving away from your family," an indication of independence. It may be that girls at this age carry greater home responsibilities or are under stricter pressures, and are simply reflecting their reaction against it. It may also be that they are more mature and therefore further along the road to

independence. As mentioned previously, their higher anxiety than the boys is consistent with previous studies. However, the anxiety literature also reports boys to score higher on a defensiveness lie scale, not included in this analysis. Thus, whether boys are less anxious or just less willing to report anxiety is still open to question.

Finally, within the Black female group itself, few SES differences were noted. Whether more differences do exist but were difficult to detect because of the small number of high SES Black girls is unclear. However, given the additional absence of significant SES differences among Black boys (with the exception of reading scores) and the continued absence of SES differences when the Black boys and girls were pooled, one may speculate that there may be less diversity by SES on such measures among Blacks than whites. Sex may be more salient among Blacks and SES more salient among whites. It should be emphasized, however, that the higher the Black girl SES the higher the achievement orientation scores. There are trends in the same direction on independence and standardized reading test scores.

Sex Differences Among Black Children: A Search for Causes

The overall results of this study emphasize the need to expand the investigation of sex differences among Black boys and girls. Some authors have begun to theorize about the characteristics of Black child socialization that might shed light on our findings. For example, with reference to independence, Kunkel and Kennard (1971, 46) argue that "mothers are apt to be strong disciplinarians, particularly toward daughters, from whom they expect more responsibility than from sons." Lewis (1976, 236)

suggests that, "while mothers have high expectations for their daughters, they do not expect as much from their sons." Reid (1972, 25), in a survey of over two hundred Black women, noted that many felt their brothers received preferential treatment, got away with more and were generally raised differently. There is need to further investigate hypothesized claims of sex role socialization differences among Blacks in order to ascertain whether such differences, as really exist, affect the school performance differences reported here. There is also need to investigate whether the schools treat Black boys and girls differently. For example, it is important to look at grading practices, given the Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) finding among whites that girls get better grades throughout their school years. We should investigate whether this is generally true among Black children, and whether such a difference affects their school satisfaction and achievement. Rosenberg and Simmons (1971) reported in their Baltimore study that Black girls get significantly higher grades than the Black boys. Additionally, given the Robovits and Maehr (1973) "pygmalion" study, which found teacher treatment and expectancy of children to vary by race, we might also investigate whether such effects vary by sex within race. Teachers with whom this author has spoken have insisted that Black boys appear rebellious, while the Black girls tend to behave more like the white children (passively). Thus there is the possibility of a bigger misfit between Black boys and the school than Black girls and the school, just as the white children seem to fit and achieve better than the Blacks, given the results reported here. Finally, this report of a hierarchical academic performance structure in which the white males and females are highest,

Black females in the middle, and Black males lowest is in need of further investigation.

The study of sex, SES and age variations within Black America is a legitimate part of social science research, and is long overdue, as is the death of the assumption of a monolithic Black community (Blackwell, 1975). It is also, however, not the time to try to choose either sex, race, or social class background as the only major cause of group variations, given the continuous flow of data indicating that they are all significantly operative.

References

Blackwell, James E.

1975 The Black Community Diversity and Unity. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company.

Blau, Peter and Otis Duncan

1967 American Occupational Structure. New York: Wiley.

Brookover, Wilber, J. LePere, T. Hammacher and E. Erickson

1965 Self Concept of Ability and School Achievement, II. Michigan: Michigan State University.

Clark, Kenneth and Mamie Clark

1947 "Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children." In Newcomb and Hartley (Ed.) Readings in Social Psychology. New York: Holt. pp. 169 and 178.

Coleman, James S., E. Q. Campbell, C. F. Hobson, et al.

1966 Equality of Educational Opportunity. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Coopersmith, Stanley

1967 The Antecedents of Self-Esteem. San Francisco: Freeman.

Epps, Edgar G.

1971 "Achievement Orientation and Racial Attitudes Among Urban Black High School Students." Unpublished manuscript: University of Chicago.

1973 Race Relations: Current Perspectives. Massachusetts: Winthrop.

1975 "Impact of School Desegregation on Aspirations, Self-Concept and other Aspects of Personality." Law and Contemporary Problems. Spring pp. 300-313.

Grier, William and Price Cobb

1968 Black Rage. New York: Bantam.

Hare, Bruce R.

1975 "The Relationship of Social Background to the Dimensions of Self-Concept." (doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1975) Dissertation Abstracts International 36:4350A.

1977 "Black and White Self-Esteem in Social Science: An Overview." Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 141-156.

1977 "Racial and Socioeconomic Variation in Preadolsecent Area-Specific and General Self-Esteem." International Journal of Intercultural Relations, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 31-51.

1978 "Self Perception and Academic Achievement Variations in a Desegregated Setting." Unpublished paper presented at the American Psychiatric Association Annual Meetings. Paper number 158.

Hill, Kennedy and Seymour Sarason

1966 The Relation of Test Anxiety and Defensiveness to Test and School Performance over the Elementary-School Years: A Future Longitudinal Study. Chicago. Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development. Serial No. 104, Vol. 31, No. 2.

Hunt, D. E. and R. H. Hardt

1969 "The Effects of Upward Bound Programs on the Attitudes, Motivation, and Academic Achievement of Negro Students." Journal of Social Issues, Vol 225, pp. 122-124.

Kardiner, Abram and Lionel Ovesey

1951 The Mark of Opression. New York: Norton.

Kohn, M.

1969 Class and Conformity: A Study in Values. Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press.

Kenkel, Peter and Sarah Sue Kennard

1971 Sprout Spring: A Black Community. New York.

Lewis, Diane K.

1975 "The Black Family: Socialization and Sex Roles." Phylon, vol. 36, No. 3, fall pp. 221-237.

Maccoby, Eleanor and Carol Jacklin

1974 The Psychology of Sex Differences. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

McDill, Edward, E. Meyers and L. Rigby

1966 Sources of Educational Climate in High Schools. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.

Patton, S. H. Walberg and E. Yeh

1973 "Ethnicity, Environmental Control, and Academic Self-Concept in Chicago." American Educational Research Journal, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 85-99.

Reid, Inez

1972 Together Black Women. New York.

Rosenberg, Morris

1965 Society and the Adolescent Self Image. New York: Princeton University Press.

1968 The Logic of Survey Analysis. New York: Basic Books.

1973 "What Significant Others." The American Behavioral Scientist, July-August, pp. 829-860.

Rosenberg, Morris and Roberta Simmons

1971 Black and White Self Esteem: The Urban School Child. Washington, D.C.: American Sociological Association.

Robovits, Pamela and Martin L. Maehr

1973 "Pygmalian Black and White." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 210-218.

Sarason, Seymour, K. T. Hill, and P. G. Zimbardo

1964 A Longitudinal Study of the Relation of Test Anxiety to Performance on Intelligence and Achievement Tests. Chicago. Monograph of the Society for Research on Child Development. Serial No. 98, Vol. 29, No. 7.

Simmons, Roberta, Morris Rosenberg and Florence Rosenberg

1973 "Disturbance in the Self-Image at Adolescence." American Sociological Review Vol. 38, pp. 553-568.

Table 1

Significance of "F Values" from two by three ANOVAs for Compared Groups

VARIABLES	1 Black Girls vs. Black Boys Sex differences from Sex by SES ANOVA	2 Black Girls vs. White Girls Race differences from Race by SES ANOVA	3 Black Girls by SES (1 by 3 ANOVA) SES differences from ANOVA	4 Black Girls vs. White Boys Race/Sex differences from Race/Sex by SES ANOVA	5 White Girls vs. White Boys Sex differences from Sex by SES ANOVA	6 Black Boys vs. White Boys Race differences from Race by SES ANOVA	7 Black Boys vs. White Girls Race/Sex differences from Race/Sex ANOVA
Rosenberg Gen. Self-Esteem	0.354	0.720	0.181	0.019*b	0.007**b	.196	.550
Hare General Self-Esteem	0.768	0.912	0.528	0.493	0.270	.275	.812
School Self-Esteem	0.082	0.779	0.993	0.786	0.542	.060	.025*g
Peer Self-Esteem	0.067	0.875	0.579	0.071	0.116	.789	.086
Home Self-Esteem	0.654	0.493	0.148	0.913	0.084	.397	.943
Self-Concept of Ability	0.194	0.000***b1	0.745	0.000***g	0.509	.183	.052
Achievement Orientation	0.042*g	0.012*w	0.032*u	0.140	0.127	.000***w	.000***g
Gen. Anxiety	0.042*g	0.361	0.892	0.038*g	0.050*g	.691	.148
Sense of Control	0.713	0.011*w	0.060	0.004**b	0.169	.031*w	.075
Fatalism	0.091	0.006**b1	0.184	0.127	0.122	.000***b1	000***b
Social Abilities	0.012*b	0.216	0.322	0.374	0.675	.000***b1	.000***b
Independence	0.032*g	0.422	0.077	0.212	0.001***g	.136	.000***g
Read. Ability	0.004**g	0.000***w	0.072	0.000***b	0.412	.000***w	.000***g
Math Ability	0.026*g	0.003**w	0.281	0.000***b	0.294	.000***w	.000***g
	n=117	n=291	n=67	n=308	n=465	n=291	n=274

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

g=girls higher; b=boys higher; b1=blacks higher; w=whites higher; u=upper SES higher

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for All Groups on All Measures

Variable	Blue Collar Black Females		White Collar Black Females		All Black Females		All Black Males		All White Females		All White Males	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Rosenberg General Self-Esteem	20.47	4.04	22.67	3.58	20.87	4.02	21.20	3.37	21.69	3.99	22.63	3.53
Hare General Self-Esteem	88.22	11.91	91.75	12.75	88.85	12.05	88.40	11.39	90.55	14.00	91.86	11.59
School Self-Esteem	29.45	5.08	29.42	6.60	29.45	5.33	27.70	5.27	30.33	5.40	30.05	5.07
Peer Self-Esteem	27.25	4.36	28.17	4.51	27.42	4.36	29.04	4.53	28.04	4.99	28.76	4.94
Home Self-Esteem	31.51	4.96	34.17	4.88	31.99	5.01	31.66	5.54	32.18	5.71	33.05	5.13
Self Concept of Ability	19.31	3.07	19.75	3.11	19.39	3.06	18.54	3.85	18.25	3.72	18.52	3.19
Achievement Orientation	33.78	4.89	38.08	5.58	34.55	5.21	32.82	5.28	38.19	5.62	37.49	5.74
Gen. Anxiety	14.38	7.11	15.25	6.00	14.54	6.89	11.84	6.54	12.25	7.19	10.38	11.44
Sense of Control	8.55	1.66	9.75	1.42	8.76	1.68	8.98	2.04	9.65	1.65	9.88	1.70
Fatalism	13.18	2.72	14.75	2.60	13.46	2.74	12.64	3.21	15.29	2.76	14.92	3.14
Social Abilities	31.24	5.20	32.33	4.38	31.43	5.05	33.66	3.89	30.85	4.68	31.06	4.41
Independence	7.42	1.89	8.75	1.29	7.66	1.86	7.00	1.69	8.20	1.85	7.63	1.86
Reading Ability	33.18	17.16	39.50	24.92	34.31	18.72	25.90	15.23	52.20	24.96	51.40	26.24
Math Ability	31.51	17.16	34.00	23.24	31.96	18.22	24.48	13.87	46.43	26.26	48.70	26.46
	n = 55		n = 12		n = 67		n = 50		n = 224		n = 241	